

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00

EB-07 FRB-03 INR-07 NSAE-00 CIEP-01 SP-02 STR-01

TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 L-02 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

NIC-01 /094 W

----- 076176

R 241722Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9566

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL BELFAST

AMCONSUL EDINBURGH

AMCONSUL LIVERPOOL

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ELAB, UK, PINT, EEC

SUBJECT: JACK JONES, THE TUC AND THE EEC

1. SUMMARY: JACK JONES, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE TUC'S
LARGEST UNION -- THE TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UN-
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ION -- IS CONVINCED THAT, DESPITE THE EXPLOSIVE NATURE OF

THE CONFRONTATIONS WHICH HAVE ALREADY DEVELOPED WITHIN THE LABOR PARTY OVER THE EC, THE PARTY WILL COME OUT OF THE CAMPAIGN "UNITED AND WITH PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON LEADING". JONES, NONETHELESS, IS ACUTELY AWARE OF THE NEED TO CONFINE CONFRONTATION WHEREVER POSSIBLE -- WITHIN THE PARTY, THE TUC, OR ELSEWHERE. HE BELIEVES THAT THE LABOR PARTY APPARATUS, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ITS GENERAL SECRETARY RON HAYWARD, SHOULD REMAIN, IN EFFECT, ABOVE THE BATTLE, AND THAT THE EC DIVISIONS SHOULD NOT BE THE CAUSE OF SERIOUS RUPTURE WITHIN THE TUC (HE SAYS: "THE TUC IS NOT LIKELY TO TAKE A MAJOR ROLE"). THUS, THE TUC'S "MR. BIG" -- ALTHOUGH HE IS LOCKED INTO AN ANTI-EC POSITION -- APPEARS TO SENSE MORE CLEARLY THAN SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES THE DANGER TO THE TUC'S VITAL INTEREST IN AN EXPLOSION OVER THE MARKET WHICH COULD BRING THE LABOR GOVERNMENT DOWN. END SUMMARY.

2. JONES TOLD THE EMBASSY LABOR ATTACHE THAT IAN MIKARDO (FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE LABOR PARTY) WAS "A BIT BLOODY FOOLISH" BECAUSE OF HIS WEEK-END CHARGES THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS LEADING "A PRETTY MOTLEY, MULTI-COLORED ARMY" OF PRO-MARKETEERS. JONES TRIED TO MODERATE THE FORCE OF MIKARDO'S ASSAULT BY STATING THAT "IT WASN'T MEANT TO BE AN ATTACK - THE PRESS HAD DISTORTED IT". NEVERTHELESS, JONES, A FIRM BELIEVER IN THE UNITY OF THE PARTY TO WHICH HE HAS MADE AN ENORMOUS CONTRIBUTION, IS WELL AWARE OF THE EXPLOSIVE CHARACTER OF SUCH EXCHANGES (SEVERAL OF WHICH RENT THE AIR OVER THE WEEK-END). HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS APPARATUS, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HAYWARD, SHOULD STAY ABOVE THE BATTLE - LIMITING ITS ACTIVITY TO PRESENTING BOTH THE ANTI- AND THE PRO-EC VIEW.

3. IN ANY EVENT-JONES'VISION OF THE FUTURE, IN CONTRAST TO SOME OF HIS MORE LUSTY COLLEAGUES ON THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL, LIKE THE VOCIFEROUS ANTI-MARKETEER CLIVE JENKINS, IS BROADER. IT MUST BE BECOMING APPARENT TO JONES -- IN FACT IT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TRUE ALL ALONG - THAT A BITTERLY DIVIDED PARTY AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT COULD LEAD TO THE FALL OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT BEFORE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ITS TIME, WITH DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE TRULY VITAL INTERESTS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT -- THAT IS, THE CONDUCT OF DOMESTIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY.

4. THIS DOES NOT MEAN TO SAY THAT JONES HAS BECOME A CONVERT TO THE PRO-MARKET VIEW. FAR, FAR FROM IT. HE WILL IN FACT, AS HE TOLD US, PARTICIPATE IN AN ANTI-EC

LABOR PARTY RALLY, TOGETHER WITH MICHAEL FOOT AND OTHERS, ON APRIL 10 AND AFTER THAT "A NUMBER OF SMALLER AFFAIRS".

5. JONES FAVORS A SIMILAR LOW-PROFILE POSITION ON THE PART OF THE TUC. HE OF COURSE IS COMFORTABLE WITH THE PRESENT TUC POSITION OF "CONTINUED OPPOSITION" TO EC MEMBERSHIP (REAFFIRMED AT THE TUC BRIGHTON CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER 1974 AND DETAILED IN ITS FEBRUARY ISSUE OF "LABOUR", BEING POUCHED). WHILE HE HAS AN OPEN MIND ON WHETHER THE TUC SHOULD CALL A SPECIAL CONGRESS TO DISCUSS THE RENEGOTIATED TERMS (IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD BENEFIT THE PRO- OR ANTI-MARKET POSITION), HE SAYS: "THE TUC IS NOT LIKELY TO TAKE A MAJOR ROLE." IT IS UP TO THE INDIVIDUAL UNIONS, PARTICULARLY AT THE LOCAL OR DISTRICT LEVEL, ALONG WITH OTHER PEOPLE. IN A MAJOR SENSE JONES' VIEW ON THE TUC'S ROLE

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FOLLOWS THE "PERMISSIVE" ATTITUDE INITIATED BY THE PRIME
MINISTER HIMSLEF.

6. THE REAL COCKPIT FOR POSSIBLE SHIFT IN THE TRADE
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UNION POSITION -- IN THE ABSENCE OF A SPECIAL CONGRESS --
THUS REMAINS THE SPECIAL LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE. APART
FROM THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE CONSTITUENCIES AND AMONG
OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE PARTY SUCH AS THE COOPERATIVES,
THE TRADE UNIONS CONTROL A WHOPPING 5.5 MILLION VOTES
OUT OF A TOTAL OF ABOUT 6.3 MILLION. JONES' OWN UNION,
THE TGWU WHICH IS ALMOST CERTAINLY TO VOTE AGAINST CON-
TINUED MEMBERSHIP, HOLDS 1 MILLION OF THESE VOTES, AND
IT IS LIKELY TO BE JOINED IN OPPOSITION TO THE EC BY
OTHER POWERFUL UNIONS, SUCH AS THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF
ENGINEERS (AUEW), WITH 830,000 VOTES, THE NATIONAL UNION
OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (NUPE), WITH 400,000 VOTES, THE NA-
TIONAL UNION OF MINERS (NUM), WITH 264,000 VOTES AND THE
ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND MANAGERIAL
STAFFS (ASTMS) WITH 151,000 -- A TOTAL OF ABOUT 2,645,000
VOTES. ON THE OTHER HAND, JONES AND HIS GROUP MAY NOT
HAVE IT ALL THEIR OWN WAY. THERE MAY BE AS MANY AS TWO
MILLION VOTES AVAILABLE ON THE PRO-MARKET SIDE FROM AMONG
OTHER BIG UNIONS, MOST NOTABLY THE GENERAL AND MUNICIPAL
WORKERS (GMWU), WITH 650,000 VOTES; THE ELECTRICIANS
(EEPTU), WITH 350,000; SHOP AND DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS
(USDAW), WITH 293,000; POSTAL MEN (UPW), WITH 183,000
VOTES, THE NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAY MEN (NUR), WITH
164,000; THE BUILDING TRADES, WITH 184,000 VOTES, AND
THE CLERICAL WORKERS (APEX), WITH 100,000. THIS TOTALS
NEARLY 2 MILLION VOTES.

7. THUS, IF ALL LARGE UNIONS WHICH MIGHT OPT FOR STAY-
ING IN THE MARKET DO SO, THE RESULTS OF THE TOTAL VOTE --
WHILE STILL ANTI-EC -- WILL NOT BE SO OVERWHELMING. MUCH

WILL DEPEND ON HOW THE DEBATE GOES DURING THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS; MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THOSE UNIONS, AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO "STAND UP AND BE COUNTED"; MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE INSPIRATION AND LEADERSHIP FROM THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER PRO-MARKET MINISTERS. (TODAY FOREIGN SECRETARY JAMES CALLAGHAN WILL REPORT THE RESULTS OF THE EC NEGOTIATIONS TO MEMBERS OF THE TUC-LABOR PARTY LIAISON GROUP.) SITUATION IS FLUID AND JACK JONES' STANCE OF REASONABLENESS AND PRUDENCE IS SIGNIFICANT. LIKE OTHER RESPONSIBLE LEADERS, HE WANTS TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE DONE BY THE EC IN-OR-OUT CAMPAIGN AND IN THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROCESS ENSURE LABOR'S REMAINING IN POWER.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LABOR RELATIONS, LABOR DISPUTES, LABOR MARKET, LABOR POLICY LINE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LONDON04520
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750102-0660
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750322/aaaaatxl.tel
Line Count: 243
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <16 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JACK JONES, THE TUC AND THE EEC
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, UK, EEC, TUC, (JONES, JACK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006